4:Phillips Σ-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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to choose, even if in this case it was seemingly to his own detriment—he knows what is best for himself. Even the incompetent, helpless infant is an independent soul with his own will and right of determination, and his dignity must be respected.

It must be recognized of course that in the cosmology of Bang Chan the infant is anything but a conative *tabula rasa*. When he enters the world of human beings he brings with him not only a stock of individually accumulated merit (*bun*) and demerit (*baap*) from countless previous lives which will affect his being in this one, but also a host of other forces which predetermine his character: his *khwaan* (soul-stuff), *winjaan* (psycho-biological motive power), *caj* (heart), and *nidsaj* or *ʔupanidsaj* (ingrained character), among others. (J. R. Hanks 1959 has a brilliant exposition of the role of these elements.) In a very real sense the infant enters the world of humans as a developed, or partially developed, psychological being. Human influences, particularly virtue and "good habits," can be inculcated into him, but they are ultimately limited by these pre-natally determined characteristics. Much of Bang Chan child rearing is actually a series of perpetual compromises between (a) parents surrendering to what they think are the child's predetermined traits (and while this represents an extraordinary respect for his infantile individuality, it also leads in a developmental sense to much of the solipsism to which we have been referring throughout); (b) parents trying to come to terms with, or overcome, his preordained characteristics by inculcating good habits through example, coaxing, and whipping (the three modes of socialization, in order of priority, although villagers are more prone to talk about whippings than actually give them; most are too tenderhearted, and the rare whipping is almost always the result of sudden rage); and (c) leaving the child to his own devices. The third differs from the first in that it focuses on the parent's concerns rather than the child's and indicates indifference rather than respect. Thus, in contrast to the illustration above, one constantly sees children, generally under eight years of age, "annoying" conversing adults (primarily by making noises, although not necessarily to get the latter's attention) to which the parent responds with continuous but intermittent "tsk, tsks." The adult never raises the volume of his admonition, never gets increasingly disturbed, and eventually gives up while the children continue on their merry, noise-making way. The parent's lack of genuine concern and compulsion is not lost upon the child. Although events of this type are not overly noticeable in Bang Chan—precisely because they occur in such an easygoing and unremarkable way—they do take place repeatedly, and represent one of the principal interactional themes of the parent-child relationship. Children learn quickly that although parents will go through little ritualistic forms of controlling them,

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the parents often do not really care and children can pretty much get away with doing what they want.[14]

With regard to other expressions of the recognition of individual dignity, one rarely sees in Bang Chan any physical or even verbal coercion. (The rare use of whipping, noted above, is to punish transgression, not to implement action.) Other than in horseplay, children do not push each other around; in my twenty-two months in Thailand, I saw not one case of young children in a serious fight, despite the fact that I looked for it. Very rare indeed is the parent who uses force or the threat of force on his child; there is no Siamese equivalent to the American intimidation, "You had better do that or else. . . ." In general, Bang Chaners proceed on the simple assumption that if people, including children, do not do what you ask them, they have good—and more important, private—reasons for responding that way; there is no need for, or interest in, self-justification. The major means of inducing recalcitrants to conform to your wishes is to cajole, wheedle, and flatter them (see particularly the responses to the Sentence Completion items, *"The best way to treat a subordinate is . . ."*; *"The worst way to treat a subordinate is . . ."* in chapter V). A less conscious but more frequently practiced alternative is simply to withdraw support: the parent who turns his back on the child and walks out (particularly evident in our TAT stories),[15] the older sibling who refuses to take his younger ones with him when there is entertainment to be seen, and the like. It must be noted, however, that social disengagement, although frequently utilized, does not always work; often the individual who is left suspended merely accepts the fact and continues about his business. The major point to be recognized is that villagers do not use forms of direct, blatant coercion on others. If soft words or the withdrawal of love will not move them, then their decision, freely determined, must be respected.

Love and affection within the family appear primarily in two forms. Their most typical expression is shown through the gifts, favors, and services people do for each other. The degree of affection that individuals feel toward one another is in fact explicitly measured in these terms. Thus, a father says that of all his daughters, the one who has given him the greatest pleasure is "the one who sells things . . . When she gets money,

[14] In qualification, however, it must be noted that all Bang Chaners are extremely sensitive to social cues—partially as a consequence of having to balance off their individualistic propensities against the demands of the authority system—and here the children ignore their parents only because the latter have indicated by their very halfheartedness that they do not care. The children can, and do, quickly hop to it on the slightest indication of parental seriousness: a stern look, for example. My point, however, is that such looks are comparatively rare.

[15] In another paper, Hanks and Hanks (1963) make the same observation on the basis of behavioral materials.

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were at first a series of unrelated incidents—that is, the possible tenuousness of the links between parent and child first came to my attention with the occasional, but wholly unselfconscious, reports from informants on what to my Western ears seemed like rather turbulent childhoods: their frequent movement from family to family while they were still children and their own care, as adults, of friends' or relatives' children. (This suspicion was reinforced and partially verified later while recording life histories). Later it was noticed that, in sharp contrast to the West, villagers tend to be less concerned about the illness of children than the illness of adults; informants with whom this observation was discussed said either that they had not noticed or explained it by saying that since children recover so quickly from sickness there is less need to worry about them. Finally and perhaps most important, it became clear that the request of the villager who stopped me and asked me to take and rear her child was by no means idiosyncratic; the request was made on four separate occasions by different individuals, both within and without Bang Chan. The intent of these requests were difficult to ascertain. Since the requests tended to come up rather suddenly, in the presence of the child, and were always accompanied by laughter, they may well have been said in "jest" or as a threat to the child. On a few occasions the parent took pains to be sure the child understood what was being said, in which case the child responded with screaming. Also, Europeans have traditionally been used as bogey men in the disciplining of children. (I myself have occasionally been addressed as a malevolent spirit by youngsters.) On the other hand, because children of poor families have been known to be given to individuals of high status, and because Occidentals are automatically assigned such status, it is not altogether unlikely that the parent was sounding me out as a potential patron of the child.

The problem with all the above, however, is that it was unknown to what extent they represented typical or deviant attitudes and responses. The Sentence Completion item, *"We want to give our child to him because . . ."* was selected for use in the SCT administered to a larger, representative sample of villagers because, being an extreme phrasing of these attitudes, it might shed light on the villagers' general readiness to accept them as well as their justifications for them. Of the fifty-six informants who responded to the item, 79 percent accepted the premise and 21 percent rejected it, *i.e.*, "I do not want to give my child to anybody." Of the forty-five individuals who accepted the premise, nineteen said it was good for either the child or the parent, *i.e.*, "that person was good, and he wanted that person to teach his child to be good"; "I would get some money by giving it away"; "I could not stand the child anymore." And eighteen said it was justifiable, *i.e.*, "because of poverty"; "I did not have the means to rear the child."

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
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243 seedlings; hauling heavy loads; fishing by throwing net
462 and by spearing; setting up and starting the windmill; starting the engine; simple carpentry work; most parts of house construction except the most technical parts like leveling and planning where the "professional" carpenters are often called in for advice; simple repairing of tools and equipment; guarding of the buffaloes and irrigation equipment left in the field when somebody must stay overnight at the temporary watch-house.

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868 In order to be competent for these various farm jobs, the young were gradually trained, starting at a rather early age of 5-7 years. At the beginning they were not forced, but allowed to participate in some simple farm work like light hauling and removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing. Mild pressure is applied when they grow older to the age of 8-12, and they are expected to participate in more complex and heavier jobs. More and more discipline is observed with the progress of the age of the young. The outline of training schedule which we have tried to reconstruct in collaboration with some elderly Bangchan informants is given below.

Age	Method	Kinds of Farm Work
5- 7	Not forced, but allowed or induced to work if they want to.	Light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing.
8-12	Mild pressure.	Light hauling, removal of weeds which have been turned over by harrowing, some household work, and help in the kitchen (girls only).

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Age	Method	Kinds of Farm Work
13-14	Moderate pressure.	Hauling, weeding, buffalo tending, transplanting, chicken feeding, fishing, household work.
15-16	High pressure.	All kinds of farm work. Harrowing, harvesting, and uprooting (boys only) are started at this age.

By the time the young are 16 years old, they are already reliable farm hands, although they are still not considered competent enough to participate in the cooperative work to which only the best family workers are expected to be sent. By the time they reach 18 years of age, all males and females should be well trained in all kinds of farm work.

According to the Primary Education Law, parents are responsible for sending their children to school at the age of eight. These children are to remain in school until they are over fourteen years old, or until they have passed Pratom IV.[2] Since school hours start at nine and last until three in the afternoon, children of school age are still able to participate in the farm work before or after school hours. Moreover, most rural primary schools including the Bangchan Primary School have adjusted their vacation recesses to the periods when rice farm labor is needed most -- from August 16 to September 15 which coincides with transplanting period, and from December 16 to January 15 which coincides with harvesting period. It is during these vacations that the upperclass children are expected to contribute their

2. Primary education is divided into four academic years -- Pratom I, II, III, and IV.